UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Bearing the World's Burden

By EDMUND H. REEMAN

The Youth Movement and Esperanto

By SYDNEY STRONG

How to Abolish Slums

By JOHN ARCHER

VOLUME XCII NUMBER 12

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A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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We, the undersigned, believing in the association of all men and women who are in sympathy with the aims and ideals set forth in the Announcement printed November 3rd, 1921, do invite all who wish to co-operate to join in a world-wide fellowship that has no bounds of race or creed.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1923 NUMBER 12

A GRACE BEFORE MEAT.*

Thanks be unto Thee, O Giver of our Daily Bread,
For this Communion of the Golden Rule.
May this plain food strengthen our bodies;
And the loving-cup of kindness refresh our souls.
Bless the great multitude of homeless children,
Thy little ones far away in the Near East,
Whom we greet in spirit at our table today.
Orphaned, may they find in Thee a Father;
Helpless, may they find in us true helpers.
In their hunger we would feed them,
In their nakedness we would clothe them,
In the prison of man's cruelty we would visit them.
Grant, O Father most merciful and loving,
That our hearts may hear the benediction
Of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ:

Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these,
Ye have done it unto me.

Amen.

—Henry Van Dyke.

Three weeks to Christmas! Three weeks in which to boost UNITY's subscription list! What better thing can you do, for UNITY and for your friends, than to give them as a Christmas gift a year's subscription to this paper? Does your "chum," with whom you like to discuss events of the day, read UNITY regularly? Is your minister able to get it? Does it lie on the table in the town library? If not, why not? Send us your three (3) dollars to-day, and give us the name and address of the person or institution to which you want us to send a year's subscription to UNITY as a Christmas remembrance from *you!*

In the years immediately prior to 1914, in spite of Peace Congresses, Peace Societies, a flood of peace literature, papers, pamphlets, books, delegations of workmen to foreign countries protesting the absence of hate, there prevailed all over Europe a feeling of the inevitability of war. Bowed under a weight of taxes, the peoples of all countries awaited the coming catastrophe. It was Fate, and who could combat this immeasurable power! The war came, and now has gone. Again the feeling of helplessness is creeping over vast bodies of people. To the appealing words of those who would avert the coming catastrophe, there is only an apathetic response. Peoples are war weary, it is true. But their very war-weariness has robbed them of their power to act. Again we hear people say, "It is Fate!" This means that our first great task to-day is to arouse men and women from their lethargy. For only as peoples are awakened, can the bloody shambles be kept out of the world. The people, who are many, are an unorganized multitude. They know what they want, but are too sick and tired of war to know how to get what they want. Those who seek oil, spheres of influence, trade privileges and power to exploit the weak and undeveloped peoples, know what they want and know how to get it. Wanting and knowing what they want, they will try to get it; and that, they frankly say, means war. Our daily press makes no bones of it. We are frankly told that the next war will be for loot. Of course that ugly word is not used, but that is what is meant. If the peoples do not arouse themselves from their apathy, then, that which is called Fate will surely act. And the situation concerns not merely the peoples of Europe. No one can say that war in Europe would not involve America. We thought so once and we were mistaken. Our great task is to arouse the people of America to the situation. If we knew that a flood was about to spread its devastating waters over our city, we would not sit quietly before our cosy fires and do nothing. Now a greater calamity is impending, and for the most part we whistle to keep our courage up, or utterly ignore the threatening danger. Unless we arouse ourselves, we shall soon be watching Europe tumble into the abyss, and we shall find ourselves slipping in after.

The fall of Stresemann was so welcome a piece of news, that we were ready at the moment to hope everything of Germany. Just to think of this impudent traitor, bartering the birthright of the German people for the industrialists' mess of pottage, just to think of this wretched puppet, we say, out of the way, and the landscape thus well and finally rid of him, was like waking on a beautiful morning after a night of hideous dreaming. Whatever now happens must be better, for it is inconceivable that anything could be worse than Stresemann. Nevertheless, great as is this gain, especially from the point of view of sheer decency and honor, it is impossible to ignore the looming seriousness of the present situation in Germany. Three parties now stand face to face, girt for a struggle which may rend the Republic into pieces. First, there are the industrialists, utterly selfish and corrupt, the vilest

*Written for Golden Rule Sunday (December 2); good for observance on any Sunday.

spawn of our degenerate capitalistic system, bargaining with similar vultures in France for the division of the German carcass. These industrialists sustain, or are sustained by, the bourgeoisie and certain of the labor groups, as the middle class, in Germany, as elsewhere, is the heart of our existing economic order. Next are the Communists, recently outlawed, but all the more dangerous on this account. These radicals are of course seeking the upset of republican institutions, and the establishment of a soviet form of government. To what extent these groups are in touch with Moscow, is unknown. Lastly, there are the monarchists, the Junkers, the old military, imperialistic party which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

"If Dr. Stresemann fails to hold the government," said *The International Interpretor* on October 6th last, "there may at any moment be a three-cornered struggle for domination, and in that struggle some of those best qualified to judge are of the opinion that the final victory will lie with the Communists."

Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England, former whip of the Tory party in the House of Commons, who came to America last summer to proclaim the glories of imperialism, has recently been elected Rector of Glasgow University. "Idealism in International Politics" was the theme of his Rectorial address. The noble lord said that "idealism in national affairs is not merely impracticable, but may easily degenerate into a deadly source of national peril." This apparently was said in all seriousness, and not as a crude sort of a joke. Now if there is anything certain it is that the men who controlled the destinies of Europe in 1914 were not idealists. Whoever is responsible for the welter of hate, intrigue, crime, misery, starvation, despair and cruelty that exists in Europe today, it certainly is not the idealists. It may be that the noble lord is, as he says mankind is, naturally a combatant animal, but he has always chosen a perfectly safe place in which to do his fighting. He may believe, as he declared last summer at Williamstown, that imperialism represents the common sense interpretation of the facts of life. But imperialism is not idealism, whatever else it may be. Imperialism means that there shall be a governing nation and a governed nation. And this relation can only exist so long as the governed nation acquiesces! The moment it revolts, it is started on the road either to freedom or to extinction. In either case it is the idealist that upsets the *status quo*. Of course the idealist is always a source of deadly peril to the imperialist! The thing that men like Lord Birkenhead seem utterly to fail to understand is that even he can only get men to fight when he hides his selfish designs under the cloak of idealism. The truth is that idealism is the only motive force in the world that carries on from age to age. It alone can redeem Europe from the anarchy into which men, who deny its reality, have plunged it.

We beg to call the attention of our readers to the important letter from our French Representative, M. Georg Demartial, in the Correspondence column. This presents with noble emphasis, and from the point of view of an honest French conscience, what we have long since come to regard as the central issue in the present European predicament—namely, the denunciation and repudiation of the Versailles Treaty. It is impressive to notice how much of the abominable handiwork of the Paris peace-makers has already gone into the scrap-basket. Thus, the Treaty of St. Germain was so impossible in the outrages visited upon the Austrian people, that no attempt even was ever made to put it into effect. It was "a scrap of paper" from the beginning! The Treaty of Sevres was as a torch that kindled the Turkish people to successful revolt, and it was duly canceled and thrown aside at Lausanne. Nothing now remains of what Clemenceau, Wilson, Lloyd-George and Orlando imposed upon the world but the Treaty of Versailles, and this vile document must go the way of the other two, if Europe is to be saved. Mr. Morel in England and M. Demartial in France, both representatives of this paper, have together forced home the truth that the Versailles settlement was woven out of the lie that Germany was exclusively guilty of the war, and therefore into the pattern that Germany must be punished and if necessary destroyed in retribution for her crime. So long, of course, as this *monstre hypocrisie* endures, there can be no peace in Europe. It is fortunate that the United States repudiated the Versailles Treaty in the beginning, and is thus free of its iniquities. Now let England join America in tearing up the document, and there will be some light on the horizon!

There are signs, and sure signs, that Americans are beginning to recover their reason on the Russian question. While the darkness of ignorance and hate still hangs low in most quarters, light is beginning to appear in some most unexpected places. Thus the *American Church Monthly* (November, 1923) commenting on Walter Duranty's articles in the New York *Times*, says:

We must admit, probably, that though the Russian government is not of the people or by the people, it is at least for the people. There is a great deal to be said for that kind of government. . . However much we may question the wisdom of Communism as a social and industrial régime, at least we must admit that there is much to be said for the Soviet method of government, and the clever and skilful organization and method of propaganda that are now being conducted by the brilliant men who are in control of the Russian situation.

Another significant statement appears in an article in *America* (November 10, 1923), as follows:

Since then (March, 1923) the whole situation became modified. . . One is left free to infer one's own conclusions from the facts, recently become known, that the Catholic churches of both Petrograd and Moscow are being reopened, that lay Catholics are more or less at liberty to practice religious life, etc., etc.

The author goes on to state his conviction that all this means that the Soviets "have merely discovered subtler means and deeper-hidden devices for destroying all Godward yearnings among the people," but it is surely something new to have it admitted that even momentarily things are not as bad as they conceivably could be in Bolshevik Russia. What is tolerably evident is a gradual dying down of the hectic fever from which we have been suffering so acutely during the last six years. The Soviets have come to stay, the country is being rapidly rehabilitated, the people are happy, life and property are secure, above all there is wealth to be gained from joining relationships again. It is our belief that the flare-up over Butchkavitch last spring closed the long series of epileptic fits, and that, before we know it, Russia, like Mexico, will again be in the family of nations.

Before this editorial is printed, Congress will have assembled and begun its work. It fairly makes us groan to think of what this means—the months of futile discussion and foolish legislation which are ahead. The ignorance, the cowardice, the ridiculous "small potatoes" of the average Congressman would be beyond belief if these qualities were not actually on dress parade day after day in Washington. The English election serves to bring to mind the pitiful character of our national legislature as compared with the House of Commons. What wonder that democracy, more especially our American variety, is definitely on the defensive at this moment! Yet the situation is not without its encouraging features. All is not lost. There is Senator Borah, for example—a worthy heir of the greatest who have sat in the Senate chamber, and a match for any statesman anywhere in the world to-day. There is Senator La Follette—as brave and true a fighter for the common weal as this country has ever known. There is that group of radicals from the Middle West—Brookhart, Shipstead, Magnus Johnson and the rest, who represent ably the growing revolt in this country against special privilege and industrial autocracy. In the House is Victor Berger, lone Socialist, ready as formerly to vindicate afresh the right of minority opinion. Best of all is the situation in Congress —that happy and significant division of partisan forces in House and Senate which gives to La Follette and the radicals the control of both bodies! The senator from Wisconsin—despised, hated, flouted these many years —is now the central figure in Congress, and therefore the most influential man in the country except only the President himself. This means great things. It reconciles us to the gathering once again, beneath the white dome of the Capitol, of this gang of cheap and ignorant politicians.

Our latest foreign visitor is one whom we can welcome and acclaim without reservations of any kind. We know that he comes to us with no selfish ends to serve, no secret mission to fulfil, no bamboozling propaganda to put over. As a great humanitarian, a lover of his kind, he seeks only reconciliation and peace and a better world. This guest of ours, Fridtjof Nansen, first became known to the world as an intrepid arctic explorer—and he still looks the part! The story of his voyage in the *Fram* has already taken its place as one of the most glorious chapters in the universal sagas of the race, and is destined therefore never to be forgotten. In later years, with the road of physical adventure at last closed to him, Nansen has turned to the other and higher road of spiritual adventure. Gradually as the war went on, his name began to loom above the smoke and flame of battle as one of the redeemers of mankind. His became the blessed work of serving and finally repatriating the prisoners and refugees of war. Wherever there were driven, hunted, lost human beings, to these, like a good Samaritan, he came with succor. When the grim spectre of famine descended upon Russia, he organized relief and rivaled the Quakers in the task of giving food to the hungry. Now he labors to end the fears and hatreds of our distracted world, and to establish peace upon the earth. It is fitting that this noble man should hold the Nobel Prize, which he has honored by his acceptance. It is a happy circumstance that he should be in America at the Christmastide, which he exemplifies so richly by his life and spirit. This man is one of those who should be "honored in their generation," for such are "the glory of their times."

Church statistics again! A few weeks ago the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States held a convention in New York. Discussion turned mainly on the question of how to protect the Christian Sabbath from the steady and alarming encroachments of secular activities, especially sports and amusements. Sunday baseball, Sunday theatres, Sunday movies were all running full blast, and inevitably drawing people away from the churches. This statement of the situation of course called for statistics to prove the point. Thereupon Rev. John Ferguson, General Secretary of the Alliance, read the results of a survey of attendance in 573 churches in New York State. This survey showed that there had been in these churches a total Sunday morning attendance of *27,727* persons, *an average in each church of* 48 *persons.* In 386 of these churches thus surveyed, *the average attendance was* 23 *persons.* In the city of Washington, D. C., a check-up of forty (40) churches "showed less than 7,000 people at worship, or *an average attendance* in the capital city of the nation of *less than* 175 *persons.* The same report, of course, showed overflowing assemblies in the theatres and movie palaces; thus, in Washington, in forty (40) more than 50,000 persons were being entertained, an average audience of 1,250 persons. But it is the

church statistics that concern us here. How are these to be matched, we ask, with the familiar census figures with which the country is deluged once a year as by a flood of rose-water? They prove, as all similar exactly compiled statistics prove, that the glowing tales of increasing memberships and swelling congregations, stated in terms of hundreds of thousands and millions, are only so much "bunk." There are some prosperous churches and some great congregations, but the general situation is appalling. How long the church can survive is getting every day to be a more momentous question.

Bearing the World's Burden

That there is a realm of life in which the individual stands or falls by his own strength most of us will agree. Some of us have learned the truth of the striking words of the Epistle to Galatians, "Every man shall bear his own burden," and there is nothing upon which some among us are more anxious to insist than the necessity of a true independence.

Independence, however, is but one of the great master words of human speech. It has its counterpart, and its counterpart is *association,* as that other phrase from the Epistle to Galatians suggests, "Bear ye one another's burdens." There is no gulf between these two words, nor the ideas they suggest, or if there be then human necessity must needs bridge it. If life in certain of its aspects is pre-eminently an individual thing, not less is it in other respects pre-eminently a social thing. A man must be a man, but only in order that together men may be strong. It is still literally true that with all our independencies, "we have no life apart from others."

Humanity is not the name of a far-off dream, or a cherished hope of unities to be. Humanity is already a fundamental fact. The most fundamental with which we have to do. Races and nations, it is true there are, but how paltry, after all, are the partitions they draw. Of all modern nations there is none more proud and glorious than our own America—but her glory would be a sorry thing if she stood alone, suncrowned against a western sky, the solitary monument of a world of human hopes destroyed.

Do we not realize when we rush our ships of relief to scenes of human disaster that it is not alone our wires and cables and means of physical communication that bind us to the rest of the world, but the inalienable kinship of human kind and human need? When human life is in jeopardy do brave men ever pause to ask of what race, language, or religion are those they rush to save?

In the frenzy and insanity of warfare and revenge men may forget humanity but in their deepest, calmest thought they know that men are ONE—one in a birthright indisputable, one in a destiny inalienable.

Life for mankind is a common challenge. Life for mankind is a common struggle. History is one, not only in the texture of its chequered pattern, but in the deep emotions of its page. All history begins in man and ends in man. Even religion's greatest concept of a God is but the shadow of a dream save as human existence and human experience give meaning to the name.

I know not what other worlds may lie beyond our ken, I am assured that all earth's meaning is in the life of man. Science may speak of a million suns that flame and whirl in the infinite vastness of space, yet is science itself but one of the languages of man, and in the presence of ten million suns man's chief concern is man.

"Bear ye one another's burdens"—is there any truth of life more plain and straight than this? How else are the world's burdens to be borne? Are there burdens men must bear alone? Then, too, are there burdens that none may bear alone. The burden of life itself is a common burden. Ages upon ages of human endeavor have prepared the ground for our feet. Generations upon generations to come must tread the path our own toil marks. No man, no nation, no generation of the world begins or ends within the circle of its own years. We all begin where others have left off. Others must begin where we leave off. We talk sometimes of the intricacy and complexity of our modern civilization, but civilizations are infinitely simple as compared with life's own intricacy. Step by step have been built up, not alone the achievements of the world's changing, if you will advancing, civilizations, step by step also have been built up, by equally patient faith and laborious toil, the securities and the promise of human life itself. History is not really a pageant—it is a travail, the travail of all mankind.

Into the rise and downfall of the greatest empires there enter factors and elements that reach to the uttermost ends of the earth. Wherever mankind has suffered defeat it has fallen by the denial of its own kinship and solidarity. There is no place in the sun for any favored nation, not even for America, there is place only for humanity made one.

How is it conceivable that any nation can survive by denying the foundation of all its possibilities and attainments?

There is a conscience yet to be fully awakened, that rebukes the proudest and the meanest—the conscience of mankind.

There is a righteousness, yet to be vindicated, that challenges iniquity in the name of the justice of the world.

There is a faith that shall yet rise triumphant—the faith of humanity in man.

It is time, surely, for that faith to be proclaimed,

for that righteousness to be vindicated, for that conscience to be awakened. It is not civilization alone that is today trembling on the brink of ruin. It is humanity itself that is in jeopardy, and of its very life. If humanity cannot triumph in the world, and if justice cannot be done, then horrific as the thought is, it is plain that the world that has given its sons to the sword must give their children's children to the slaughter.

It is no pious, sentimental business this matter of bearing one another's burdens. The world's burdens are such that if we do not bear them together one and all must sink beneath their load.

There is too much talk today about the growing unrest and economic discontent of the dispossessed, as they are sometimes called—too much idle complaint of the wild fanaticism of the agitator and self-appointed reformer as the cause of all our trouble. Even Bolshevism itself, however, that spectre of utter horror to the many, is but a symbol of the world's malady. I am not defending it. I doubt whether it could ever be made a part of the machinery of life. But the trouble lies deeper. The trouble lies in the inability of nations and men to come to any mutually sympathetic understanding of life's problems. The trouble lies in the tendency that marks the present life of all classes of all nations to "pass the buck," if a vulgarism may be employed, and to refuse the hardship and sacrifice of mutually shouldering the common burden.

I don't know how it is going to be done and I haven't a single quack remedy of any sort to offer for the ills of the world. My opinion is that not a little of our present confusion is due to the abundance of the quack remedies that are offered. Frankly, I don't believe in quack remedies of any sort, either for the ills of the body, or for the sickness of the world. I have seen too many people die of the treatment to believe in them for the individual, and there is enough muddle and chaos in the world at this moment to demonstrate the inefficacy of any quack remedy for its ailments.

I am neither a Bolshevist, nor a Socialist, nor any other sort of an "ist." I should hesitate even to pin my faith to traditional Christianity as a hope of the world's redemption, there is too much confusion as to Christianity itself. I write simply as a plain man to plain men, as one who is trying to look at the world problem with all the common sense and clarity of vision he can command, and who is pre-eminently interested in it because it is fundamentally a human problem and therefore his own as much as any man's. I am not even in any sense a dis-interested party. I am one of ninety or a hundred million people on this continent alone who have got to live in the world, and who have got to think about what sort of a place the world is going to be for their children to live in later on.

I say again, I don't know how it is all going to be done—this vast business that needs to be done. Immediate practical steps and proposals are all matters for the most earnest consideration and the best combined human wisdom. I do believe, however, that I see something of what needs to be done. One of the first essentials, I believe, is to see that this is not a matter of the mere mechanics of politics and statecraft, but a matter of fundamental and inevitable human relationships. Even so daring a proposal as The League of Nations is not worth ten cents unless it can be dominated by a far greater amount of fundamental human sympathy, understanding, and agreement than has thus far been evident in connection with this particular measure.

Primarily it is a matter of mutual burden bearing among the nations and peoples of earth—a matter of *literally* "working out new ways of living" for mankind—ways of living based upon a frank acknowledgment and an open recognition of the interdependence of nations and men and aiming to substitute for the old foolish animosities and partizanships new and nobler ways of thinking and feeling. I think myself it will also have to include a recognition of human capacity for high and noble living and the understanding that the world's problem is man's problem and that together men are equal to its solution and to the necessities of justice and righteousness on earth.

It will mean, undoubtedly, the clearing away of a lot of the old cob-webs of ignorance and superstition and a widespread utilization of the whole world's advancing knowledge. It may mean, it will require, I believe, the transference of the faith men have professed in a God beyond the clouds to a like faith in themselves and in one another, or if not this, then, at least, the supplementing of what has been called our faith in God, but a faith equally deep, broad, reverent, and confident in humanity at large.

This alone involves an enormous task, for it is no small thing to induce and inspire sustaining confidence and quickening faith in a heart that for centuries has been taught to disbelieve in itself.

They used to talk in the language of the religion of yesterday about the "passion for souls." We need it still, and if ever there was a basis for it and a justification for the passion for souls, it is found in the world's utter present need.

It is the reproach of history that Nero fiddled while Rome burned. May it not be the reproach of America, or of any one of us, that we fiddled before the conflagration of a world. EDMUND H. REEMAN.

Jottings

A federal war prisoner was released last week by Washington. Lothar Wizke by name, he was arrested and convicted during the war as a German spy who had gained information at military encampments for transmission to the enemy. Sentenced to death by hanging, he was given commutation of sentence to life imprisonment by President Wilson, and is now pardoned by President Coolidge. The thirty-odd political prisoners, serving sentence for minority opinion in war-time, are still behind the bars!

We ask every one of our readers to write the President *to-day,* requesting him to release at once all the political offenders now in prison. This scandal must not outlive another Christmas—and will not if the people speak!

It is reported that the late Lord Morley has placed in his will a ban on the use of his letters and papers for biographical purposes. We hope that this ban does not include the third volume of his "Reminiscences" telling the story of his retirement from the Asquith cabinet in 1914 and of his reaction on the war. As Simeon waited "for the consolation of Israel," so have we waited for the publication of this book.

Dr. T. T. Shields describes the recently organized Baptist Bible Union as "a fellowship of Baptists who are revelationists as opposed to rationalists, Trinitarians as opposed to Unitarians, creationists as opposed to evolutionists,—regenerationists as opposed to reformationists." This is definite enough. But how many Baptists are going to line up with an antediluvian group of this kind?

The *Century* publishes in its December issue the first part of a brief biography and study of Mahatma Gandhi, by Romain Rolland. Here, if we ever saw one, is the ideal combination of subject and author! It is good to know that the *Century* articles, three in number, will be later republished in book form.

What (her) air force really amounts to to-day, France alone knows. It has been calculated by the best external judges within such wide limits as 1,200 to 5,000 aeroplanes, equipped with bombs, each capable of inflicting at least fifty per cent more than the damage any bomb inflicted during the war. It has been claimed by France that this air force is necessary to protect her against the machinations of her old enemies on her eastern frontier, but it is a fact kept quiet, but none the less incontrovertible, that *the hangars of these aeroplanes are so placed as to direct their flight towards Britain.*

Such is the situation as reported by an unquestionably authoritative source in the October 6th issue of *The International Interpreter* (pages 847-8). It is facts like this, not generally known, not often discussed, which point to the next war.

Over a million dollars was spent in Boston on football games and theatres on November 24th last; and over 75,000 people stood for hours drenched to the skin in one of the heaviest rainstorms in months, to watch the pigskin gladiators. Again we ask—what does such a social phenomenon as this mean?

J. H. H.

The Youth Movement and Esperanto

Editorial Correspondence.

Two hundred foreigners and four hundred Germans met in Hellerau, a suburb of Dresden, for a congress, July 31st to August 5th. It was a Youth Congress. Of the foreigners twenty were from the United States. Five thousand delegates from forty-three countries met in an Esperanto Congress, August 3rd to 8th, at Nürnberg. I decided to visit them both, although I am neither a youth nor an Esperantist. The sipirt of youth was the charm that drew me to the first congress, while some Australian friends were the second charm.

"The note of the Youth Congress was 'To find each other again,'" as a reporter stated. There is much tragedy behind this thought. This is the second time that German and foreign youth have met since the war. To have a *meeting* is a distinct gain; for it will help to "break the ring" and lead to a better understanding. All classes of youth—bourgeois and proletarian—were present. Many slept on cut straw. The Congress began on July 31st, so as to give the delegates the advantage of the July railway rate, which rose next day three times.

The program of this Youth Congress was not unlike that of others. An administration committee, morning conferences, afternoon recreation, evening meetings and dances. The youth movement stands for non-adult leadership and expression. I was surprised to see so many people around the age of thirty. I am with the youth in their insurgence against the old, in their demand for freedom. Do I not in Berlin carry with me daily a bundle of house keys, weighing half a pound—symbol of life's bondage in Europe. When I saw a young girl in Nürnberg—she had come from Hellerau—was simply clad, wore her hair in two braids as my mother did—frankly turn her back upon the Esperanto Ball with the remark that she took no interest in that kind of dance, I almost hurrahed for the Youth Movement.

One splendid thing about the youth movement is the singing. The youths do not *meet* to sing; they sing as they go—the only proper way for singing. Our singing, and praying, and loving, and eating, and even dying have been over-conventionalized. These youths are breaking down the conventions. They are repudiating

adult leadership. They are singing, "We are young, and that is good."

There may be some truth in an unfriendly criticism that the delegates were not "young," but were "just dressed up as youth"; and that those who "were young took life too seriously in their attempt to tackle the problem of life." On the whole, however, this great expression of rebellion to the rule of the dead hand and the old, those participating seeking guidance in their own souls, and progress and happiness in nature and freedom, seems to me full of hope. At least, it must not be forgotten that the youth movement is non-alcohol and non-tobacco.

I lived for ten years in Chicago, so I have the right to report little bits of a conversation that floated to my ears at the hotel in Dresden from a breakfast table occupied by a traveling Chicago family, near me. There was a discussion of one of the Dresden churches. "In our Chicago church," remarked the young lady, "the organ sits up in the corner," and "there are no statues in our church," and, said the young man, "wonder how I'll get rid of my five million." I had an hour before seen a group of "Wandervögel," as with swing and freedom they walked and thumbed their guitars, and somehow I like this youth movement.

I sat for an hour in the lobby of the Deutscher Hof, Nürnberg—one of the most exquisitely charming cities in the world—waiting to take the train back to Berlin. I tried to put together the many experiences of the three days and to piece the puzzle—of Europe.

The vision of a million of German youth wandering and singing with freedom and hope seemed good. The crowd of Esperantists—5,000 of them, to whom the City of Nürnburg surrendered—bent on creating a medium of understanding, a "helping language," so that an Australian could speak to Hindu and Russian—clearly showed that the races of men are incurably one; and this seemed good.

I thought of the great demonstration by Esperantists around the Albrecht Dürer monument, and of the playing of "The Meistersingers" by Hanns Sachs, in Esperanto, and it was encouraging. I recalled the conversation of the two excited Germans in the train, as they recounted their experience in Prague with the astonishing prices for beer, cigars, baths, eggs—until in desperation they were compelled to cut short their vacation and make for home—typical of thousands who are unable to get outside of Germany. And the conversation with Dr. Schützinger, in command of the police in Dresden. A remarkable man. An officer during the war; now a pacifist, and loathing war. Sitting in his modest home, he spoke of the Republic, the forces seeking its destruction, and the necessity of being on guard against attack. And the conversation with Mayor Truppe, Nürnberg, and Dr. Heimerich, head of Public Welfare, both of whom thought that not later than autumn there must be serious explosions in Germany, unless important changes in international relations were made. In any case, there would be great suffering among the innocent and feeble—the children, the aged.

That afternoon I had exchanged a $5.00 bill for 7,500,000 marks. A few hours later I could have got 15,000,000 marks for my bill. That morning the waiter allowed me only 1,000,000 marks for a dollar! The bottom is knocked out. It will take weeks and months for Germany, for the world, to realize the effects of this sliding into bankruptcy of the German people. Those will suffer most who least deserve to suffer.

I confess I can't put the puzzle together—a puzzle that holds a tragedy for millions of lives. It looks simple. It is simple—if only the leaders in government had horse-sense and decency of character. Britain, and France, and America—the Governments, I mean—might help, but they will not, when and where help counts. They will do everything except get off the back of the German people.

If I were Dr. Stresemann, the new Chancellor, I have an idea that I would do my utmost to cultivate friendship with the French people. France and Germany are natural friends. As long as they are unfriendly, there will be war. Britain's friendship to the one to the exclusion of the other is worse than valueless. A second thing I would do would be to appeal to the German people, by every means, to turn to themselves for help, to utilize their own resources. They are able, if they will, to care for themselves. There are well-fed people in Germany—as in every land—who are able to feed the poor in Germany. They must divide. A third thing I would do would be to disband what little army (100,000) there is, and invite a committee appointed by the President of the United States, the King of England, the President of France, the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to prove that it is disbanded. About this time, I suppose, I'd have to resign my office; but I am convinced that what I have said is the way of wisdom. SYDNEY STRONG.

OUTSIDE THE CHURCH

I passed without, what time the organ pealed
The last high rapture of a stately hymn,
And lingering where upon the twilight dim
The storied windows, rich with warmth, revealed
A pitying Christ 'mid humble shapes that kneeled,
Heard the punctilious Priest intone a grim
Creed-curse of some dead, earthly sanhedrim,
As if it opened all that God had sealed.

Not mine that perfect faith which strangely soothes
The world's disquiet where it enters in,
And yet I bear, through every night of doubt,
A heart of hope made glad by simple truths:
No door, O Priest! shuts all God's light within,
His stars are with me in the dark without.

—*A. St. John Adcock.*

From "The Golden Book of English Sonnets," (J. B. Lippincott Company).

KEATS TO FANNY BRAWNE

Let me believe you, love, or let me die!
If on your faith I may not rest secure—
Beyond all chance of peradventure, sure,
Trusting your half avowals sweet and shy
As trusts the lark the pallid, dawn-lit sky,
Then would I rather in some grave obscure
Repose forlorn, than, living on, endure
A question each dear transport to belie.
It is a pain to thirst and do without:
A pain to suffer what we deem unjust,
To win a joy—and lay it in the dust;
But there's a fiercer pain,—the pain of doubt.
From other griefs death sets the spirit free;
Doubt steals the light from immortality!

The Century. —*Florence Earle Coates.*

How to Abolish Slums*

There is no ambiguity about the title which you have selected for to-night's discussion. It recognizes an ugly fact and calls for its elimination. But I would that it were as easy to solve the problem as it is to recognize and to acknowledge its existence.

Slumdom—what is slumdom? It is something more and greater than the clearing away of old and decayed buildings in foul and unhealthy environments. If the demolition of such property could abolish slumdom there is little doubt we would, by this time, have been well on the way to the solution of the problem.

But every clearance of such property seems rather to aggravate than to cure the disease. Glasgow in the early seventies entered upon a scheme for the demolition of slum property and the clearing of the sites thus occupied. The corporation spent over two millions sterling in pulling down such rookeries, and in replacing them with decent houses, open spaces and parks.

These houses when erected were let at rents which entailed a loss of tens of thousands of pounds. Were they let to the evicted tenants of slumdom? Not a bit of it!

London in similar fashion has cleared slum property. Some years ago the sum of £50 per head was paid to demolish the houses of some forty thousand of the population of London, or to put it another way £250 was spent to render the average family of five homeless at a time when that sum would suffice for the erection of a really good class of artizan dwelling.

What lesson did these experiments teach the Housing Reformers of London and Glasgow? The clearing of these unsavory spots created a land boom in the whole neighborhood which had been sweetened. Areas which had been avoided like a plague now became desirable building sites, and the corporations not less than the individual citizens, who desired to build houses, found themselves heavily penalized, in the shape of heavily increased prices for building sites by the enterprise of the City Council in buying out the owners of slum property.

The land speculator reaped all the advantages and profits accruing from this communal enterprise and communal expenditure, and the result was that the poorest of the poor found themselves in occupancy of the poorest class of houses which were still allowed to remain at rents which had been so highly advanced as to considerably lower their power to live within sight of the standards of physical efficiency which was possible in the old slum areas.

Thus new slums arise to take the place of the old and the last condition is no better than the first. How then are we to abolish slums? Slumdom, broadly speaking, ever presents to us the picture of houses unfit for people to live in, and, let it be said very tenderly, of people unfit to live in decent houses, for there is, alas, only too much truth in the old saying that if you put a pig into a drawing room, the drawing room will quickly resemble a pig-sty, and it is unfortunately tragically true that many of our poorer brethren are incapable of keeping themselves and their homes in tolerable decency. For poverty has laid such a heavy toll upon them, that physical deterioration, moral depravity and spiritual atrophy are the inevitable results, and render them incapable of responding to the calls of noble instincts.

Have any of you ever seen specimens of the wonderful dwarf trees which the Japanese gardeners are so successful in producing? These Japanese gardeners will germinate the seed of a forest giant and eventually they will present to you a wonderfully diminutive dwarfed specimen of that forest giant. As you look at this tree of but a few inches or a few feet and you think of its kind in the forest standing with its topmost branches 100 or more feet in the air, you wonder what wizardry the Jap has brought to bear upon the specimen before you in order to procure such a result. The answer is perfectly simple. He has reared his seed in a pot. From pot to pot he lifts it, ever taking care to curtail the opportunities of its roots to expand beyond the limit he has set, which is just sufficient to keep it alive. He feeds the poor soil in which he has placed it in such manner as best serves the object he has in view. And he also bends the tiny branches and fastens them with strong wires until their habit becomes fixed. Thus you behold a perfectly dwarfed specimen, a puny, diminutive specimen of the tall stately oak, beech or lime tree, as the case may be.

At home here our scientific gardeners will take equal pains to secure one or two super glorious blooms of some beloved flower. They will tend the plant with greater solicitude than they bestow upon their own offspring, giving it all the nourishment which both artificial and natural plant foods can supply. Then they will carefully select one or two buds, and ruthlessly nip off all the others, in order that the whole life of the plant may be driven into the one or two buds they have left.

The result is a super glorious flower, abnormal in size, and color, and form.

In both cases the gardener has exercised a privilege to interfere with the natural order to secure abnormal effects. In the one case he has bestowed license, in the other he has refused natural opportunities. To one he has given super-abundance, to the other he has given under-nourishment. He merges the life of the many into the few to secure specimens of the super-glorious bloom, and he starves and represses in order to secure distorted, twisted, stunted, dwarfed and diminutive specimens of plant life which have lost their power to expand even when given their freedom.

And this is a picture of privilege wherever it is practiced. It over-nourishes the few and it under-nourishes the many. It bestows super-abundance through the power of license to the select, and it denies natural opportunities to the non-elect.

I do not challenge the right of the gardener to exercize the power of privilege for the making of dwarfs and the making of the super-glorious blooms in the world of nature.

But every life in the human family is sacred, and I object to one life having the power to appropriate the life's succor of the many, I object to any life being denied its natural opportunities by limitations and repressions that a dwarfed and stunted growth is meritable.

For poverty of the many and wealth of the few are but the two sides of the same shield. The hovels in the slum are generated by the palatial mansions and pal-

*An address delivered at Greenfield Congregational Church, Bradford, England.

aces of the excessively rich. The abnormal at one end of Society is born of the abnormality of the other end. The hovel is unfit for people to live in and all too often the inmates are unfit to live in houses.

On the other hand I make bold to say that in even greater degree than the hovel, are palatial mansions and palaces unfit for people to live in, and their inmates are less fit to live in houses than are the inmates of hovels.

Let us be absolutely honest and give to each a square deal. In Henry George Junior's book "The Menace of Privilege," we are given several examples of the homes of the wealthy monopolists of the states. Senator Clark built for himself a house, the corner stones of which each weighed over 16 tons and had to be conveyed in *specially* built railroad trucks from the quarry to the site. And impatient at the delay in getting bronze fittings, he not only bought but enlarged a foundry for the express purpose of meeting the needs of this palatial establishment which was to have over 100 bedrooms and a theater to seat over 500 persons.

Likewise Mr. Schwab of the Carnegie Steel Trust. He built for himself a house costing over 7 million dollars, whilst one of the sons of Jay Gould eclipsed all by building a house, which, like Clark's, possessed a theatre seating 500 persons, large swimming baths, art galleries upon the walls of which were hung many hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of pictures—a mansion so vast as to require over 200 male servants, who were all dressed in livery. We do well to deplore the physical degenerency, the moral depravity and the spiritual atrophy of the slum dweller. But if we have a true sense of proportion we shall still more deplore that damnation which seeks physical efficiency in the eating of unearned bread, which seeks moral safety for one's own through the moral danger of others. I, at any rate, know no greater spiritual atrophy than that which allows one's self to be clothed with the fruits of another's endeavor, and which allows one's self to shelter in luxury through the expenditure of another's blood, bone and muscle.

If you would abolish the slum, you must destroy privilege. What is privilege? The word privilege means not a natural but an artificial condition. It comes from the Latin—*privilegium,* meaning an ordinance in favor of a person. And *privilegium* comes from *privus* or private, and *lex* or legion—a law. Hence in its essence privilege means a private law—a special ordinance in favor of a particular person or persons.

An ordinance which confers favors or privileges to a particular person or persons is a legal or man made statute enactment. For the laws, decrees or ordinances of God respect neither persons nor classes. They do, with merciless inevitableness, confer equal rights to all and bestow privileges to none.

It is to political action then, to which we must turn in our search to destroy privilege, for politics is the science which concerns itself with the art of government.

Ah, some of you may say, "You surely don't expect to make men good and pure, sane and honest by Act of Parliament. The state cannot compel actions which it approves, it can only punish actions which it condemns. It may imprison a wrong-doer, but it cannot reprove his conscience. It may penalize immoralty but it cannot enforce chastity. Its sphere of action concerns our material lives, our properties, contracts and conveniences. It cannot and it should not have power to control our thought and shape our character."

I reply: What is the State? It is the individual in corporate action, it is the unit co-operating with unit in collective enterprise—bearing the common burden and shaping the common destiny.

And whilst it may be true that you can't make men good and pure, sane and honest by Act of Parliament, it is alas only too true that by Act of Parliament you do teach men to be wicked, impure, insane and dishonest. For there is no more accurate barometer for registering a people's loyalty or disloyalty to truth than the laws of their statute book.

By statute enactment you have done more to enthrone error in the minds of men than by any other means. Let a lie become established as the law of the realm and give it legal protection and it will do more to corrupt men, to make them wicked and dishonest than will the vices of individual habits.

Privilege secured the usurping of truth at the physical foundations of life when land was made the private property of individuals. With that lie controlling the physical foundations of life, the natural order—the divinely appointed order was rendered inoperative.

If the natural order is rendered inoperative, man can never know the elemental power of God's ordained conditions for exalting the good and for repressing the evil in his nature; so long as that lie continues in control.

The unnatural order which this lie has set up makes it impossible for any one of us to be absolutely loyal to the behests of truth, of justice and honesty. For when a lie controls the physical foundations of life it is impossible to have inviolably moral tests for the defining of equivalents of service between one and another.

John Ruskin said that "the art of being rich was the art of keeping other men poor," and the only way of preaching that art is by lifting the natural bounty of the Creator out of its natural setting of the equal coheirship of every child born of God and woman.

For the lifting of that natural bounty out of its setting of the equal co-heirship of all, enables the few not merely to collect for themselves that which belongs to God but also to extort the earnings of their fellowmen.

This immoral privilege liberates the favored few from complying with the eternal decrees to stand on their own feet and bear their own burdens. They liberate themselves by enslaving their poorer brethren. Only that form of property ownership is moral which enables the individual to make the best of himself, and this is not possible either to the over- or to the undernourished.

Restore the natural order, by lifting back God's providence into its divinely appointed setting. Remove the lie which operates at the base of life through your science of politics. You have the super-abundance of the few and the poverty of the many because your science of politics has never been the medium of your discipleship to the truth as it was in Jesus. The world is misgoverned because your co-operation in citizenship fails to establish the law of God as the law of the states.

Destroy the power of privilege which is born of that

lie and God's law of equity and justice will quickly demonstrate that the dice is not loaded in favor of wickedness, selfishness and impurity in the constitution of man.

Reconstruction and Regeneration have their origins at the same source. There is only one way in which the rich man can be a Christian. He must surrender his legal right to rob the poor. Justice for yourself from God may only be won through your preparedness to strive for and win justice for your brethren at the hands of yourself and your fellows.

I believe there is a profound truth in the words of the old prophet who makes the Common Father to say, "I will quickly restore the years which the locusts have eaten."

I have no patience with those people who are ever and always belittling, libeling and slandering their species. "You are a dreamer, an idealist, but human nature is what it is and until human nature is changed your dreams and ideals are a vain thing"—they tell me.

Yes, human nature—is human nature lacking the opportunity to be natural or normal. Man's power to rise is at least equal to his power to fall when unnatural handicaps are removed. Give him freedom from the fetters which not only prevent his rising but which actually drag him downwards.

Henry George was once asked, "Do you believe then that your Single-Tax proposals will rid us of all our social ills?" "No," replied George, "I don't, but freedom will."

And will it not? Freedom! Think what it means. It means liberation from all that which enslaves, restricts, retards the full development of man. Freedom from the enslaving chains of ignorance, superstition, error and tradition—freedom in all things pertaining to the life of the individual. Freedom of thought and of conscience. Freedom to have developed to the fullest extent possible the faculties endowed in us by nature. Freedom to use those faculties without restraint—save only in so far as in our use of them we would impair or injure the equal rights of every other. Freedom to reap for one's self and one's dependents the fruits of our labors without any toll levied thereon by parasitic—privileged classes set up by the state.

To abolish slumdom we must emancipate the mind as well as liberate the body. If reason be the faculty which marks man's superiority over beast of field why fetter it? Let a rational educational system and a moral economic system run in double-harness. Make the objective of your educational curriculum be the equipping of the child to fill that niche in life for which nature has endowed it and in the occupancy of which it shall not only find its greatest happiness, but in which also it shall delight to render to its day and time the best and fullest service it is capable of. You may say to me: "Oh but you can't change those whose habits are fixed." The reformer looks forward. His eye is upon the oncoming race. He wants these to be planted in the free open soil, out in the sunlight, and pure air. To make slum children into men and women graven in the image of God, he would not merely teach and inspire, but he would change their playgutters into fields—he would have the child flowers blooming with the other flowers in God's own garden. He would transform their hovel homes into spacious homes of light and beauty, their scanty food into abundant and wholesome nourishment, their wretched pleasures into recreations which would build healthy bodies for healthy minds and developing souls.

Can it be done? Speak to the earth and she shall teach thee—cried one of the old prophets. The mention of that text impels me to crave your indulgence for a personal reminiscence. Some years ago my colleagues in public work in Huddersfield sprang a delightful surprise upon me. They invited me to a dinner, after which they presented me with a gold watch, and tickets for a holiday in Switzerland for myself and Mrs. Archer. That laborious strenuous holiday will live in the memory whilst life lasts, not so much because of what I saw of the wonders and miracles of nature, although these created imperishable impressions upon the mind and are permanently stored in the cells of the memory. The great outstanding memory of that holiday was a simple conversation with a young Swiss lady. One afternoon during our stay at Grindlewaldt Mrs. Archer and I went out alone. In that rarefied air—the village is four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea—we lost sense of time and exertion. Ere we were aware of the fact we found that we had walked such a distance as to shut out any possibility of getting back to the hotel in time for the evening meal. But the knowledge that that meal was lost to us gave us a rich compensation in being responsible for a conversation I shall ever remember with gratitude. For on our way out we had passed a Chalet with an open veranda from which swung a notice board bearing the words in English, "Teas served with home made bread, English spoken." We made our way back to the Chalet and took our seats on the open veranda. A young lady came out of the Chalet and in perfect English greeted us with "Good afternoon, madame, good afternoon, sir." After serving us with freshly brewed tea, Yorkshire tea cakes and wild strawberries gathered from the mountain side, I invited her to be seated with us, for I was anxious to ask a question of her. And this is the question I addressed to her. I said, "I bow in almost revential awe as I behold the might and majesty of those three mountains before us"—we were facing the Matterhorn, the Eiger and the Jungfrau, 11, 13, and 15 thousand feet high respectively. "But much as I marvel at these wonderful works of God there is something about your life here which makes me marvel more."

"What is that," said she. "It is that I find no evidence either of wealth or poverty. I fail to see any signs of lack on the one hand or surfeit on the other."

"Ah," said she, with a winning smile, "that is due to the way in which we deal out the land here."

"What on earth has the land question got to do with the matter?" I asked, trying to look as green as a cabbage. For the moral settlement of the land question was then, as now, the consuming passion of my life.

"Ah, Sir," said she, "I know your England, with its Empire upon which the sun never sets. But if only because of the land question I would not exchange my nationality of little Switzerland to become a citizen of your great and glorious Empire."

"Pray go on and explain," I eagerly exclaimed. And thus she proceeded. "For four years," said she, "I was a governess in one of your titled English families. I thus became thoroughly conversant with the squalid poverty and the unspeakable wretchedness of East London on the one hand, and the rampant prodigal wealth of West London on the other. Similarly I

grew familiar with the uncrowned autocracy of squiredom and the humiliating serfdom of the peasantry of your country side.

"Such glaring inequalities gave me pause to think furiously. I pondered and pondered tracing cause to effect, and effect to cause. I found the root evil of your national life to be land lordism. You had bartered away the birthright of your people, you had made the God-created, the God given land the private property of the few, and this it is which gives you such ghastly differences in the standards of life between your classes and your masses."

"What is your system of land ownership here?" I asked.

"The Canton holds it in trust for the people," she replied.

"What is your method of administration?" I inquired.

"We parcel out the land in sufficient quantity to enable every holder to maintain himself and family in comfort. Thus every youth and maiden when they begin courting have before them the picture of the day when they begin life on their own.

"For they know that as soon as they can show the authorities of the Canton that they have saved enough to build and furnish a Chalet and to stock its outhouses with cattle, they will be given a tract of land sufficiently large to maintain them in absolute comfort if they live sober and industrious lives.

"Thus do social conditions encourage steady, clean, and thrifty habits. The young folk win through and are able to comply with the conditions imposed by the Canton. They receive their tract of land, they build, they furnish and marry.

"From the beginning they feel they are free to work out their own destiny. They know that no parasitic class exists to levy a toll upon their labors, they reap for themselves the full fruits of their endeavors—after, of course, paying rent to the Canton for the land.

"Think what all this means," continued the young lady. "No mean narrow streets with dog-kennelled houses, no courts or squares. Every chalet set in the midst of its own grounds, amplitude and elbow room, sunshine in fullest measure and the purest of fresh air. The day's work entered upon, engaged in without worry and without scurry—the fruits thereof ample enough to banish the fear of want, yet never too ample to make success ruinous.

"Oh yes," she continued, "the land question and its proper handling means a healthy body and a healthy mind. And a healthy mind means a growing, thriving, spirit which develops a power to discipline the animal nature and its appetites. And the fruits of such discipline here are—you will not find a male resident in this district the worse for drink from the first to the last day of the year, neither will you find a female who has soiled her womanly virtues and chastity."

I had neither time nor opportunity to verify that young lady's testimony, but I have never questioned it, because it confirms my every instinct and intuition, not less than my reasoning of what will be the outcome for mankind under natural and normal conditions.

Speaking as I do, under the auspices of the Church of God, I want to say with all the emphasis I can command that this usurpation of truth at the base of life makes impossible the doing of God's will on earth as it is done in heaven and his Kingdom cannot come until this wrong is put right.

For the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon a lie. The religion which will establish peace, good will and brotherhood in the earth, the religion which will banish poverty and dissipate huge aggregations of immorally acquired wealth with be a religion which will make justice its cardinal plank and doctrine.

And justice is under your feet, it lies in the womb of mother-earth. The releasing of it and the application of it is by way of political and economic science.

Politics—what a dirty game it is. But the very measure of its filthiness and degradation is the measure of the high altitudes which will be possible when we make it the hand-maiden of religion.

When the science of politics shall give expression to our allegiance to truth it will dethrone all privilege.

The profits of the earth, otherwise rent, will then be collected for the common good. We shall then, in the words of that noble democrat—the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman—make our country the treasure trove of the people, instead of its being, as now, the pleasure ground of the rich.

How can this be done? By changing your basis of rating and taxation. The present basis of revenue collection has its origin from the theory known as "ability to pay."

But even rates and taxes should have a moral basis. If they have a moral basis they promote freedom, in addition to providing revenue, they promote the diffusion of wealth on a just basis of distribution, and thus destroy the unholy power vested in wealth concentration. For if the base of rate and tax is not moral they promote license instead of freedom and they assist the concentration of wealth instead of its just distribution.

Ability to pay is not a moral basis of revenue collection. For it takes no note of how that ability to pay has been secured, neither does it stop to ask whether the toll which it levies is too much or too little in return for the benefits each citizen respectively enjoys from the functionings of local and national government.

If tax and rate were to be levied on the principle that each citizen should contribute in exact measure to the benefits conferred upon him by advantages of nature and social factors, we should quickly see the beneficence arising from moral canons of rate and tax.

For by rate and tax levy on the principle of according to benefits conferred we should quickly reduce the Ability to Pay of those who possess such an ability which is not moral, and we should correspondingly increase the ability of those who today are deprived of an ability to pay to which they are morally entitled but have been legally deprived of.

How can this be done? The values in land are of a two-fold nature. One form of value arises from the activities and expenditure of the owner in managing and improving it—this is called improvement value. The other form of value arises from advantages of situation plus the presence of the people on or adjacent unto it, plus again the activities of the people and their social expenditure in providing themselves with all the amenities and abilities of local and national government. This latter value is known as land value, or unimproved value, because the land holder does not and cannot play any part in creating it or perpetuating it. It has its origin in natural laws and communal enterprise. If then we were to separate improved values from unimproved values and were to collect such un-

improved values for the common need via rate and tax collection, leaving to the land holder the improved value which belongs to him for his labor and expenditure upon it, we should be following out the injunction of Jesus to render to God the things which are God's and to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.

Today the landlord collects both the values, that which is rightfully his own and that which is rightfully the community's. This gives him an ability to pay for which he can show no moral title. It also enables him to keep land out of use, either for his own selfish pleasure, or to create land hunger on the part of the people in order to extort from them monopoly prices.

The benefits of social services, local and national, are conferred upon him through his land holdings and he wastes them by thus keeping his lands out of use or putting them to other than the best uses.

If he was rated and taxed according to the benefits conferred upon him without respect as to how he used or wasted those benefits, he could not—no matter how wealthy he might be—long afford to keep his lands idle or put them to inferior uses.

For rate and tax would demand from him the full amount of those unimproved values of the lands which were yielding no rents or but partial rents.

He would by such economic pressure be compelled to have the lands put to their best uses. The lands which he could not so use himself, he would have to seek other users for.

Economic pressure of this kind puts the land holders in competition with each other in order that they may receive the rents out of which to pay the unimproved values into the public purse.

And what follows where you have competition? The inflated values arising from monopoly power are gone. Prices come down with a run until they reach their real market value.

Land is thus made open and accessible to the would be user on fair and moral terms. Monopoly power to fence land in and fence men out is gone. The immoral ability of parasitic power is destroyed, and the moral ability of honest labor is restored.

The over-working and the under-feeding of the many and the under-working and the over-feeding of the few is thus brought to a stop. Nothing is settled until it is settled right. Begin there to abolish slums. Justice is the goal of moral government, but the goal of moral government is blocked by the encroachments of privilege. And you may palliate and plaster with charity until doomsday, but charity can never right the wrong. Indeed, I think with Henry D. Lloyd that charity is the bankruptcy of brotherhood. Charity is dependent upon poverty. The more charity there is, the more people there are in misery, want and distress. Charity as a super-glorious flower may be good to look upon, but it is only good to look upon because its sequel flower of poverty is so hideous.

And poverty, says Dr. Devine, the leading social expert of New York, is in the main the story of social injustice, of adverse conditions over which the individual who suffers has no effective control, but which are not beyond social control. For poverty lieth not in the unalterable nature of things, but in our human institutions, our social arrangements, our tenements, our slums and subways, our laws and courts and jails, our politics, our industry and our business.

On the other hand—wealth. Thomas Carlyle draws a picture of special privilege in France before the Revolution. "The widow gathers nettles for her children's dinner, and a perfumed seigneur, lounging in his palace, hath an alchemy whereby he will extract from her every third nettle and call it rent."

In the huge aggregations of wealth by individuals we see this appropriation of every third nettle. Get behind any great fortune and you will find that the gathering power is not so much brains and energy, as a legal power to take, either without rendering any service in return or of with-holding an equivalent reciprocal service.

Such immoral gathering power can only be destroyed by dethroning privilege and restoring justice at the base of life. Such an order can only be established by an enlightened Social Conscience. Misguided and erroneous social thinking has misgoverned and misruled the affairs of men through the functionings of government.

And the same machine will have to be used for the righting of the wrongs which have been inflicted. Through our social science we shall have to replace privilege with justice, license with liberty if we would see the natural order established and all men living under normal conditions.

To secure such an order we would have once again to raise Luther's wonderful battle cry of the German Reformation—the priesthood of the Common Man. But with a grander fuller meaning. Teach men to think right in order that they may act right. At the core the common man is sound.

But he has been taught to sub-let his thinking to others, and his guides and teachers have—whether by accident or design we need not stay to discuss—rendered him incapable of recognizing truth and enthroning it in his science of individual and social morality.

The priesthood of the Common Man. What fetters will it break? What forces will it liberate? It will banish the ignorance which is the mother of fear. And fear is the driving curse of man. It is the driving power alike of the rich as well as the poor. The rich fear the vanishing of their riches and the destruction of their immoral privileges. The poor fear tomorrow's lack. Man is divided into the two classes of the Haves and Have-nots by this fear and in a world which is illimitable in its power to shower a prodigality upon all without distinction.

The priesthood of the Common Man will dissipate this ignorance. Emancipating the mind, it will reveal the beneficence of the natural order. Fear of want will then be conquered and selfishness will be turned to noble passions. For selfishness will cease to cunningly harness social science for the setting aside of divine decrees in order to invest favored classes with legal power to rob and steal, and all social violations of the command, Thou shalt not steal shall cease.

Bradford, England. JOHN ARCHER.

CORRESPONDENCE

FROM OUR FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE.

[We wrote M. Demartial the other day, suggesting that he send us an article on the liberal groups in France. We have received in reply the following letter which we are glad to share in part with our readers.—J. H. H.]

"Cher monsieur Holmes:—

"Vous avez bien voulu me demander un article pour UNITY sur le parti liberal. Je ne pourrais en dire que le plus grand mal. Je suis tout-à-fait opposé à son attitude hypocrite. Il se dit pour la paix, mais une paix fondée sur la prétendue légitimité du traité de Versailles. Et il se refuse à discuter

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

CHICAGO READERS TAKE NOTICE!

John Haynes Holmes will be heard in Chicago on the following days:

December 14—

10:30 a. m. Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard. Subject: "Five Years After the War"—A Survey and a Prophecy.

12:30—Forum Luncheon Address, City Club. Subject: "A Program for Ending War."

4:00—Garrett Dempster League, in Garrett Chapel, Northwestern University, Evanston. Open meeting.

6:30—Federation of Religious Liberals—Banquet at headquarters, Abraham Lincoln Centre.

December 15—

1 p. m. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Hull House.

December 16—

2:30—Milwaukee Open Forum. Subject: "My Visit to Soviet Russia."

December 17—

10:30 a. m.—Chicago Women's Aid, 717 Kimball Building. Subject: "Personal Responsibility for Peace."

Afternoon—Oak Park, Ill. 19th Century Club. Subject: "Europe Whither Bound?"

8 p. m. Sinai Temple, 4600 Grand Boulevard. Subject: "Five Years After the War"—A Survey and a Prophecy.

A YEAR WITH THE BIBLE IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE.

"The New and Better Bible Which Modern Scholarship is Giving to the World" which is to be considered on Sunday Mornings in the Unitarian Church, Poughkeepsie, by the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, is almost a popular topic judging by the wide publicity now given to new versions. We venture to believe that many of our readers will be interested in Mr. Sunderland's suggestive topics.

Subjects and Dates

Nov. 4. Bible I. Lamentable Popular Ignorance of the Bible. Causes.

Nov. 11. Bible II. The Bible as Literature.

Nov. 18. Bible III. What Claim Does the Bible Make as to Inspiration, Infallibility and Authority?

Nov. 25. The Better Religion Coming.

Dec. 2. Bible IV. The Origin of the Old Testament.

Dec. 9. Salvation by the Truth.

Dec. 16. Bible V. The Origin of the New Testament.

Dec. 23. Christmas.

Dec. 30. Ideals for the New Year.

Jan. 6. Bible VI. Old Testament History and Legend.

Jan. 13. Remarkable Achievements of Youth.

Jan. 20. Bible VII. The Genesis Legends. Where They Came From.

Jan. 27. Remarkable Achievements of Old Age.

Feb. 3. Bible VIII. How the Old and New Testaments Came Down to Us.

Feb. 10. Should America Disarm, and Thus Lead and Save the World?

Feb. 17. Bible IX. Old Testament Prophets and Prophecy.

Feb. 24. Darwin: His Great Service to Science and Religion.

Mar. 2. Bible X. Messianic Prophecy: Relation of the Old Testament to Christ.

Mar. 9. Industrial Problems I. Just and Unjust Taxation.

Mar. 16. Bible XI. Old Testament Fiction. Ruth, Esther and Jonah.

Mar. 23. Industrial Problems II. Public Ownership of Monopolies.

Mar. 30. Bible XII. The Book of Psalms.

Apr. 6. Industrial Problems III. Co-operation, Profit Sharing and Industrial Partnership.

Apr. 13. Bible XIII. The Teachings of Jesus.

Apr. 20. Easter. Immortality in the Light of Evolution.

Apr. 27. Bible XIV. The Teachings of Paul.

May 4. Miracles.

May 11. Bible XV. False and True Methods of Bible Interpretation.

May 18. What is Unitarianism? Its Relation to Other Faiths.

May 25. Bible XVI. Need of a Shorter and Expurgated Bible.

June 1. The Breadth and Inclusiveness of True Christianity.

June 8. Bible XVII. Where to Find the Best That is in the Bible.

June 15. Every Person's Unconscious Influence.

June 22. Bible XVIII. The Greatly Increased Religious Value of the Bible of Modern Scholarship.

June 29. The Religion of Doing Good.

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la question des responsabilités de la guerre, qu'il estime jugée et bien jugée.

"D'autre part je suis absorbé par la préparation d'un livre sur cette question des questions. Vous verrez! . . .

"Non, pas de Société des nations, tant qu'elle sera ce 'monstre d'hypocrisie,' comme j'ai dit dans *La mobilization des consciences.* Et pas non plus de remise des dettes. . ."

[Translation.]

You have been so good as to ask for an article for UNITY on the liberal groups. I should only be able to speak the greatest evil of them. I am utterly opposed to their hypocritical attitude. They say they are for peace, but a peace founded upon the pretended legitimacy of the treaty of Versailles. And they refuse to discuss the question of responsibility for the war, which they regard as settled and rightly settled.

Furthermore, I am absorbed in the preparation of a book upon this question of questions. You shall see!

No—no League of Nations, so long as this monstrous hypocrisy endures, as I have said in my *La mobilization des consciences.* And no remission of debts either!

AMERICAN PEACE AWARD.

342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

November 16, 1923.

Dear Sir:

Our committee wishes to commend to the Chicago UNITY the nation-wide "referendum" to be conducted in January upon whatever plan is selected by the Jury of the American Peace Award, created by Edward W. Bok and offering $100,000 for the "best practicable plan by which the United States may co-operate with other nations looking toward the prevention of war."

We hope that you will have occasion, not only in the month of January but also between now and January, to call your readers' attention to the opportunity which this "referendum" will give to the citizens of this country to express their individual opinion as to what the relation of the United States to the rest of the world shall be.

The competition, as you know, closed on November 15th last. We think the Jury will have made its selection by January first. Immediately after that, the winning plan is to be submitted to the widest possible public for consideration and for a vote. On the release date a number of leading papers throughout the country, including the New York *Tribune* and the New York *World,* will carry with the text of the winning plan a ballot which will contain space for the signer's name and address, a statement as to whether or not he or she is a voter, and a statement as to whether or not he or she approves the winning plan *in substance.*

If, in your own publication, you can print the ballot with the winning plan or a digest of it, we should welcome your participation in the "referendum."

Several hundred organizations and institutions, including the 88 great national organizations which are members of our Co-operating Council will send the winning plan with the ballot to each of their members for a vote.

These organizations include the most distinguished professional, fraternal, civic and religious organizations (all faiths) in the country. The interested participation of these widely differing groups in the "referendum" is to be explained only by the fact that they realize the vast opportunity which the American Peace Award offers for crystallizing public sentiment in this country and for making articulate the interest of millions of our citizens upon a subject of vast importance to us all. Participation in the "referendum" does not involve endorsement of the plan or commitment to any program with regard to it.

We realize that some voters will wish to express themselves more fully than a "yes" or "no" vote permits. We ask in this case that they by all means send us their fuller opinions, but that they do this in some separate communication. The ballots may be sent directly back to us; we shall have them tabulated by states, with all duplicates removed, in order that the result may be a really authentic record of popular judgment.

We should be glad to have you inform your readers that any number of copies of the winning plan, accompanied by ballots may be secured from us, of course without charge.

We hope that the "referendum" commends itself to your interest, and that you will in turn desire to commend it to your readers.

Sincerely,

ESTHER EVERETT LAPE,

Member in charge.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR A WARLESS WORLD

This seems to be an opportune time to put forward the idea of a Minister of Peace in every country who shall have equal standing with other cabinet officials.

We must face the fact that any discussion of outlawing war is weakened as long as every country has a Minister of War, for this means that war is the accepted, or at least, the expected thing.

As long as human beings think of war as right and proper, legalize it, and plan the newest and most effective methods for carrying it on, just so long will the old order persist. A secretary of peace in every country could easily be made the stepping-stone to the new order—the warless world of the future.

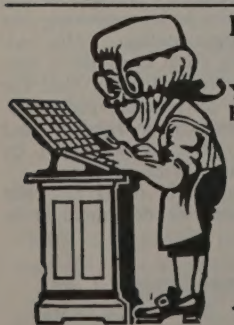
A second suggestion is that all of the churches of Christendom accept the responsibility that the use of the name of Christ puts upon them, *and refuse to sanction war.* Violence is the law of the brute, but, except in rare instances, he spares his own. Non-violence is the (higher) law of the human, but *he disregards the law.* That he does so at his peril is amply proved by the state of Europe today which illustrates to the letter, Christ's words: *"He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."*

More than any other group it is up to the Churches to stop war. I would suggest that their combined forces be put behind the idea of an appointment of a Minister of Peace in every country of the world, whose duties, among others, shall be to arrange for international conferences with open sessions, and to see that no secret treaties are entered into, and who, it must be understood, shall resign in the event of his country going into war.

In this connection may I also draw your attention to a valuable suggestion which has been made by a number of members of the British Parliament in a communication addressed to the Dominion Parliaments, viz., that it should no longer be allowed to be within the province of an individual, be he a President or Prime Minister or other National Executive, constitutionally to send troops to a foreign country without having *previously* secured the consent and sanction of the nation through its Parliament or Congress, as the case may be. This has more than once happened in the past, and what is now needed is the devising of such statutory measures as shall render its repetition in the future constitutionally impossible.

These would be practical first steps towards the attainment of a warless world.

(Signed) *Julia Ellsworth Ford.*
43 West 74th Street,
New York.



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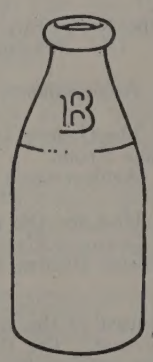

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